/111 cont./

3. Anthropological Remarks

Since I did not take any anthropological measurements among the Paez personally, I cannot give any numerical data. These investigations were undertaken during my stay by the Colombian anthropologist, Nestor Usacategui, but have not yet been published.

From the somatic point of view, as far as the men are concerned, they are generally medium-sized, slim, with narrow shoulders, seldom thickset. As practiced climbers and mountaineers, they are never obese. They do not give the impression of being undernourished, but their padding of fat is very thin. Their arm and body musculature is also poorly developed (cf. Ill. 173 /see p. 277/). They are unable to lift large loads. A maximum of 25 kilograms is transported by means of the fiber bags hanging down on their backs and carried with a chest-band. Their calves are muscular, but not fat. Fallen arches prevail generally. Their gait is slightly bowlegged; the great toes point inward during walking. The same somatic peculiarities are also found among the women. In youth they are well-proportioned, in old age never fat.

In general brachycephaly predominates, but it is not extreme. The faces are oval, the cheekbones only slightly prominent. The nose is primarily straight, sometimes slightly concave, and of medium width. Among women one sometimes finds slightly distended alae. The forehead /112/ is high, straight, and steep. The eyebrows are not very pronounced. The eyes are sometimes slightly slanting and show -- especially among women -- a slight Mongolian fold. The mouth is large, the lips somewhat puffy. The eye color is dark brown and shining, the skin color medium-brown. In Avirama there was proudly introduced to us a family whose members, along with normal skin-color and dark eyes, have reddish-blond hair. One of the grandfathers was said to have been lighter colored and to have had even lighter hair. The normal color of the hair is dark; the hair is straight, but not stiff, and sometimes wavy. Even in old

/130 cont./

249 three years is very long. Shoots from old sugar-cane plants are used as slips, which are set out by the men in the same way as the maize kernels. A hole is made in the ground with the digging stick at one-meter intervals in every direction from the neighboring plant; the slip is stuck into it and pressed firmly with [462] the hands. The cane is harvested by men or women. Both know • [482] how to handle the machete. The men carry the sugar cane home over their shoulders (Ill. 173 /see p.277 /), women stuff the sugar cane into the fiber bags and hang them over their backs, holding the carrying band with their foreheads.

244 Besides maize and sugar cane, the bean (ōs) is of great im- [262] portance for the Paez diet. There are the large, speckled so-called "sow beans" /broad beans/ (Spanish frijol) and the smaller, white beans. /131/ The former are for the most part eaten, whereas the white beans are usually sold. They are sowed either in the vicinity of the house at the foot of trees and shrubs, with three beans always stuck into the ground at a time, or together with maize. In this case, during the maize sowing, three to four beans are put in the same hole with the six to eight maize kernels. In growing simultaneously the beans climb up the maize stalks.

243 Wheat (skótc) is not of importance in the diet of the Paez, [262] for no bread is baked. Nevertheless it is very often planted because it grows fast and thus represents a suitable item for the Paez to sell.
243 If anyone has to buy something, be it fabric for a pair of trousers,
434 a machete, a metal pot, etc., he sows wheat, usually in March/ April, and after half a year he can already pocket profit from the sale. It is characteristic of the Paez, however, that they make use of this only when they need something urgently, but not in
243 advance so as to have money on hand in any case. The preparation for wheat sowing is done in the customary manner of clearing by burning. The sower hangs around himself a fiber bag containing the seed grain and, in exactly the same fashion as our sower, starts to broadcast the wheat with his hand in a wide arc. Subsequently the ground is superficially turned over with the shovel, so that the birds cannot pick up the grains. In harvesting it a bundle of stalks is grasped a good hand's breadth under the ears and cut off with the

/167 cont./

435 Livestock can be exchanged for other livestock or for food-
437 stuffs. For example, a stallion has the value of 20 pounds of coca leaves or a man's ruana; a mare, however, is much dearer and is exchanged for the maize harvest of a field about 100 square meters in area, to be harvested by the buyer himself. Similarly, one can exchange the harvest of a maize field for a steer or a heifer. (The latter has a monetary value of 30 to 40 pesos.) The exchange or sale of a cow, on the other hand, is not possible under any circumstances. Pigs have the relatively low value of only three to five pesos; they are exchanged for five pounds of coca, ten bags of maize, or ten tomín of sugar cane. One may also exchange a small sow or a full-grown hog for a steer. The latter has the value of about 15 pesos, a mare about 20 to 30 pesos. Stallions are gladly exchanged for a foal. They are valued at 15 pesos. Whereas the exchange of a stallion for a cow is impossible because of the latter's higher value, stallions are often exchanged for bulls, especially by hosts who need beef to feed their guests.

It is significant that a head of cattle or a horse cannot be exchanged for quickly consumed foodstuffs, such as maize, arracacha, beans, potatoes, bananas, etc., since the latter do not last long enough and the buyer of the foodstuffs feels that he will not get sufficient use out of his exchange. On the other hand, coca leaves still on the tree, maize on the stalk, or a sugar cane field are quite possible as media of exchange. Victoriano, for example, exchanged for a foal a sugar cane field about 50 by 50 meters in area, which the new owner may harvest as needed. Such an exchange, however, is possible only for
[185] persons who are as industrious as Victoriano. In general the Paez is much too disinclined to work for a future supply, especially if he is not even to have the use of it later on; besides, he is much too fond of drinking his own chicha to give away a two-year old sugar cane field.

439 The goods are transported to the market by men and women,
● 482 albeit more by the former than by women. This seems quite
484 surprising, for the civilized Indios, as well as many colonists, are in the habit of riding to market unencumbered by any load,

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
●482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

/168 cont./

484 Special orientation devices for traveling are unknown and are unnecessary, since no one leaves the wider area of his home district. Anyone taking a route for the first time joins someone who knows the way. One does not travel by night, and for this
● [482] reason the stars do not serve for orientation. The average load to be sold on market days is about 20 to 25 pounds for men; if a married couple goes together, the man usually carries the load, and the woman, the provisions. The daily distances covered are considerable. From Calderas by way of San /169/ Andrés to the market at Inzá is almost 20 kilometers. It takes about
[492] six hours on foot. On horseback it is not much less, since one cannot ride fast on the steep paths of the countryside. Many Paez manage this route back and forth in one day, albeit only "without becoming intoxicated on the way," which is not altogether simple.

487 The traffic routes consist of narrow footpaths which can be traveled by walking or riding only in single file. As for roads
491 for wagons or autos, there is only one at present: the gravel auto road from La Plata to Belalcázar, traveling up the Rio Paez. Since the end of 1952, however, a connecting road to Inzá is being built with modern American road-building equipment, which will then open up to traffic the southern, less mountainous area of Tierradentro, settled exclusively by colonists, and its products, coffee and panela /see the glossary, p.249 /. These roads are cut directly out of the sometimes very steep slopes and cross rivers and brooks with modern iron bridges.

491 The Paez, too, are accustomed to crossing the waterways
484 on bridges. It is not customary to wade across, unless it is a matter of very shallow brooks. Even then large stones are usually set in them, by means of which one can reach the opposite
491 shore with dry feet. The bridges of Paez may be divided into three groups, according to their construction. The simplest type is that of two thick poles or tree trunks placed side by side, without a railing, which span the ditches around the farmyards
[825] and gardens that substitute for fences. Such ditches are supposed to prevent horses, cattle, and pigs from entering. Over the

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[77 Today all children are obliged to attend school in the
797 mission schools, where they are taught the catechism and the
871 Spanish language and must bathe once a day under supervision.
515 The mother nurses her child exclusively during the first six
853 to eight months; only then is the giving of more solid food begun, which, however, does not differ in any way from that of adults, that is to say, the child is given yuca, beans, chicha, brandy, etc., like the adults. The mother suckles the child until the next one arrives, namely, three to four years, and sometimes beyond that, along with the one born next. Every woman who has a child generally also has milk, we were told. Only if the mother should be far away, /187/ for example, on an errand at the market or out fetching wood, may another woman help the child with her milk. In the rare cases in which a woman does not have enough milk to feed her child, she may give it to some
853 other woman, who, however, does not receive anything for it. It
855 may also happen that a family with ten children has become so
[593] large that the food is no longer adequate. In this case the woman may leave one or several children in the care of her mother. If she no longer has a mother, however, she must keep them herself. In case the mother of small children dies and leaves a baby of less than two or three months who still cannot eat any food other than milk, the father looks for a woman who likewise has a nursing baby and who brings up the strange child with her milk for two or three years, until it can talk. Then the father takes it back, and the wet nurse is given a cow as "milk money."

854 Ordinarily the children are carried by the mother. The
● 482 colored woven belt (táw) and the large shawl (panyelón or séntyatc), in which the child is wrapped and carried by the mother on her back, are needed for this.

857 The games of the children are generally instructive for their
868 later life. The boys go bird hunting with the blowgun (pãt), the plaited stone-sling (ísot), or the elastic sling (kaučéro), or they practice catching each other with the lasso, during which the child
[231] to be caught represents a cow or a horse. The ability of the children, and of the adults, too, by the way, in the use of the lasso is not

1: Nachtigall--277 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 174. Harvesting the coca leaves.

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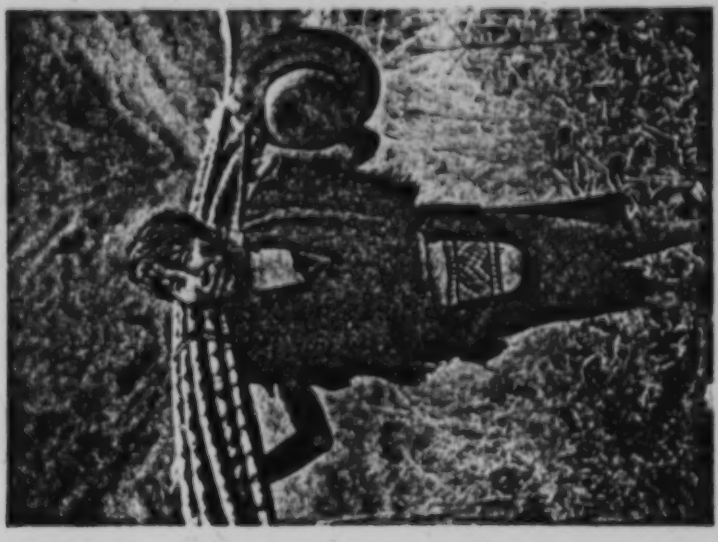

Ill. 173. Paez with sugar cane.

1: Nachtigall--287 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 198. Women carry heavy loads with the forehead-band.

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Ill. 197. Manner of carrying children.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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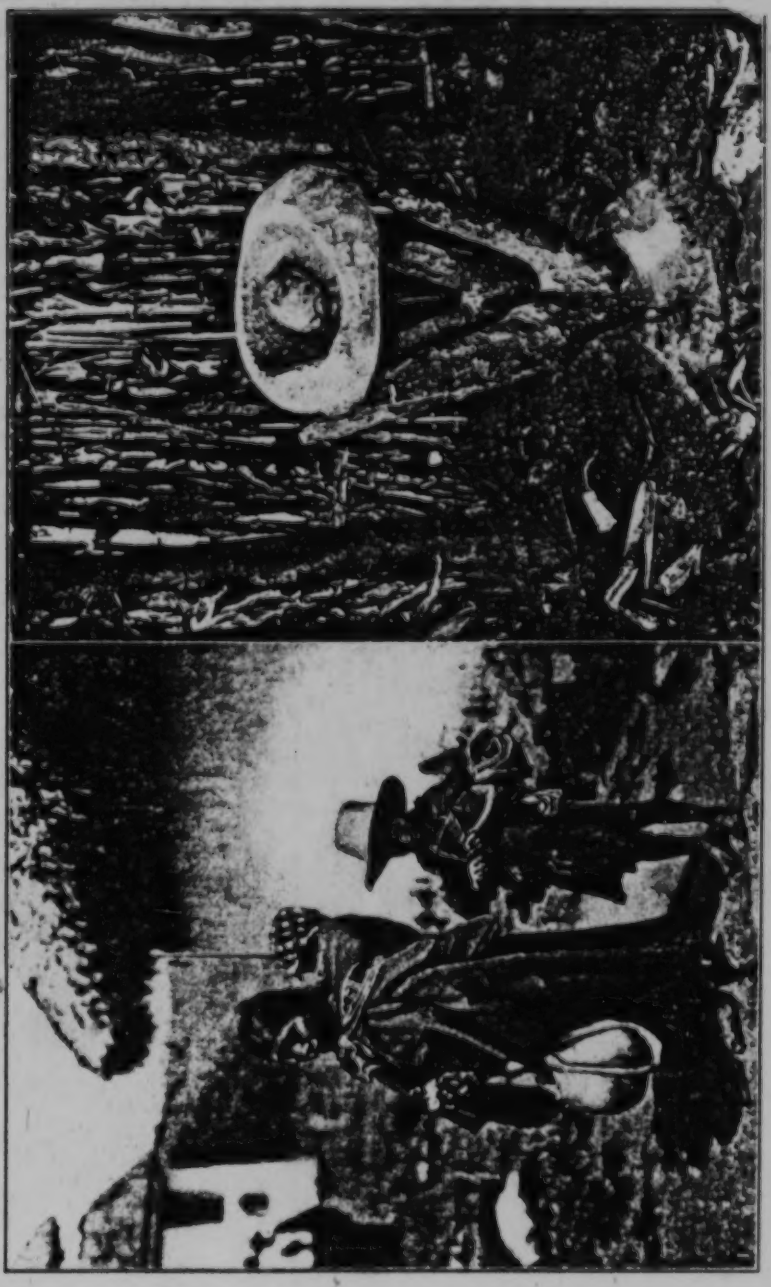

PAEZ GRINDING STONE

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TRAVELING PAEZ WOMAN AND CHILDREN

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

[facing P.317]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

bag and the small receptacle that contains the quicklime used with the former. When out of doors a second piece of woolen cloth, longer and narrower than the first and called simply *atš*, is thrown over the shoulders, with the head likewise thrust through the middle. A narrow-brimmed hat (*tsna*) the like of which is found among the Kitšua, is the usual complement of this dress. It is made of the outer skin of a tall grass (*Gynerium saccharoides*), resembling sugar-cane and common along rivers.

The women all dress in the same way, with fabrics invariably woven by themselves. The underwear, which is often dispensed with, consists of a narrow piece of woolen tissue used as a loin cloth, passing between the legs and then rolled around the hips. Over this article is worn a broad piece of dark woolen cloth, wrapped along the body and limbs in the form of a skirt. This is the *anaco*, or *pamb-atš*, and it is attached to the waist by means of a sash called *tilia*, the elaborateness and ornamentation of which vary with the wealth of the owner. The upper part of the body is covered with a ruana called *atš-tul*, sewed along the right side and on the right shoulder, but open at the left side, being simply pinned on the left shoulder with a wooden peg or a fish-bone. When traveling the women provide themselves with another broad piece of cloth (*spatš*) which is used either as a cover or for wrapping the baby on the back. In the latter case the cloth is secured by means of a belt (plate IV, 1).

Women also wear necklaces, made now of common glass beads, silver coins, or small sea-shells, the number of strings depending on the wealth of the husband. The mention in Castillo's vocabulary of a word for bracelet (*kaschand-gnuc-tsa*) indicates the former use of such ornament. Females have no headgear. Married women part their hair along the median line of the head and allow it to hang back in two braids. Little girls wear their hair loosely behind the shoulders. In former times women painted their faces blue with the juice of a fruit called *kii*. Speaking of this custom, which seems to be obsolete now, Castillo facetiously says: "fruta . . . con cuyo zumo se pintan el rostro las Indias (*i aun las que no lo son*)." Men formerly decorated their bodies and faces with *tok*, the red color

/321 cont./

231 [796] [533] The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1).

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles, [249] /322/ although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride [482] on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy [562] load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything to hinder him.

231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or [754] donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey [789] for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones (sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs, [422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers [233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to [232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue. Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

7:Hemández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

obliquely across the rocks; (3) an arched bridge of bamboo floored with spaced sticks, equipped with a hand rail on each side, and supported with stones, bamboo braces, and vines (pl. 185, *bottom, right*); and (4) a covered bridge with thatched roof, built of heavy logs supported by sticks and stones and floored with boards—a marvel of calculated strength, which, like the third type, is made entirely of vegetable materials yet can support loaded animals. To build an arched bridge, two groups of Indians approach opposite sides of the river and each plants a long, strong pole sloping out over the stream. The chief of each group then climbs out his pole until his weight bends it down to meet that from the opposite side, whereupon, clinging with one hand, they lash the ends together with creepers. This constitutes the main element of the bridge which is then completed by the other Indians.

TRANSPORTATION

Some Indians now have horses and use them for traveling and for transporting large burdens, but, in general, transportation is by foot, objects being carried on the back or in netted sacks hung by a strap, especially when visiting markets. A woman carries not only a heavy load but her small child suspended on her back in a blue woolen blanket held with a broad woven band, or "chumbe." Peculiarly Andean is the custom that the man travels on horseback while the woman follows on foot with a large burden.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Moguex* and *Páez* formerly wore only small cotton blankets (mantas), although most of them "went about naked even on the cold mountains" (Rodríguez, 1684, bk. 2, ch. 1). They painted their bodies with bixa, using, according to Del Castillo i Orozco, stamps to apply the color. The paint also protected them against the strong sunlight and insects. They went barefoot, as all the natives in Colombia. According to one chronicler, their hair was "shorn" (Robledo, in Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38). They wore breast and nose ornaments of pure gold or a gold and copper alloy, and necklaces of small figures, beads, small stones, and snails.

Soon after the beginning of the Conquest, the Indians commenced to use wide, long shirts of a very crude weave and hats which were so closely woven that they would hold water. The latter, which the Spaniards called "tacillas de Páez" (Páez bowls), are still in use. The Spanish encomenderos required that the Indians working on their haciendas near Popayán be dressed. This was the origin of the characteristic garment worn today, which combines the old small blanket (manta) with European dress. *Moguex* men wear short linen pants, and a blue flannel sash which covers them to their knees.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5f (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

291 177 They protect the upper part of the body with a black poncho tied at the belt, or a shirt with a poncho over it. Women wear two skirts, the under skirt being black and the outer one white or gray. Both are held at the waist by a sash woven with figures. They cover their busts with two blankets which are fastened at the shoulders with [293] wood, copper, or silver pins. Both sexes carry pouches woven of [415] hemp which, like these Indians, are called "guambías." Their straw hats are dish-shaped, with small brims hardly distinguishable from the shallow crowns. The hats, always too large for their heads, are held on by two cords, one passing under the chin and the other behind the neck, around the hair. The women also wear woolen shawls, silver earrings, rings, and heavy necklaces of glass, shells, and silver. For festivals they prefer hats with the brim divided into two parts, front and back. These are lined with dark-blue cloth, with red and yellow on the brim.

When working, the *Páez* wear short linen pants or long woolen ones and a large woolen poncho tied at the waist. When going to market, they wear an additional poncho and a woolen pouch for coca. When [292] traveling on the páramos, they wear a knit hemp cloak covered with large, thin leaves of *Gynerium saccharoides*, which protects them from the rain. The women wear a narrow woven cotton band, passed between the legs and tied at the waist, one, two, or more black or gray woolen skirts gathered at the waist and held by a woven sash, [482] and two small mantas, like those of the *Moguex*. In traveling, a [854] shawl is worn for covering and to carry the child. They adorn themselves also with strings or necklaces of glass or other beads, or white chaquiras, and sometimes are added silver pendants of Colonial origin. [292] During festivals the women wear brightly colored blouses of imported fabrics and the men linen shirts.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Páez* and *Moguex* make a few twilled baskets of cane strips and two kinds of hats. The hats are woven with the coiled or sewed technique. The spiraled warp in one kind consists of a thin bundle of rush or straw, and in the other of a braid made with seven [462] strands. The latter is more common. Both are made by men who [292] prepare materials while resting at home or traveling on the road. [824] Weaving also includes waterproof capes made by tying sheaves of leaves or straw to a net of hemp cord.

283 **Cordage.**—Rope making is practiced extensively. Hemp (fique) is the raw material, and is made into cords for fishing nets, bird trap nets, bags or pouches for carrying belongings and products, foundation nets for the leaf rain capes, and cordage for various other purposes. The sisal or hemp (fique) leaves are scraped over the sharp edge of a board to loosen the fibers, which are then washed, dried, and twisted

7:Hernández de Alba E-5# (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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PLATE 187.—**Páez weaving and spinning.** *Top:* Woman spinning wool while walking, San Andrés, Tierradentro. *Bottom:* Men weaving straw hats. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 c]